

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957

SG4 Araucanians SG4

Chile

SMITHSONIAN MISCELLANEOUS COLLECTIONS

VOL. 133, PL. 39

241
492



[313
443]



Transportation by means of oxen: 1, An unhitched pair of oxen, showing details of yoke (Alepue). 2, Hauling logs for firewood (Alepue). 3, Transporting a load of wheat (Cofaripe).

[p. 172 (F)]

252 and the middle of the ruka to prevent heating the back section of the
354 ruka where potatoes and wheat are usually stored. No family in the
areas studied had a factory-made stove, nor even an improvised one.

313 Firewood may be either split wood of desired lengths—piles of it
372 were seen near a few ruka—or dried tree stumps, or a log several
yards long. One end of the log is placed in the fire and shoved
along as it burns down. Tree stumps are preferred for in-between-
cooking fires because they burn slowly and long. All wood is laid at
the edge of the fire, never on top of it.

[824] Ulmo, because it is a hard, nearly smokeless wood, is preferred as
firewood. Other woods used are robe chileno, coihue, and olivillo.
The last is the least desirable as it creates so much smoke. In Boroa
area, a nearly treeless region, large quantities of driftwood are col-
lected in spring after the floods of rivers fed by mountain streams
have subsided. Should a Boroa area family run short of firewood
before the driftwood is available, it will fell trees found on the banks
of streams in the area; this wood, however, is usually not the smoke-
less kind.

372 According to Cooper's sources (1946, p. 718) a hand drill was
used in the early days to start a fire: the hearth was held on the
ground by the feet while the drill was twirled with the hands. Flint
and steel, and then matches, followed the hand drill. A 70-year-old
Panguipulli man had never seen a fire started except with matches,
which are being used in all areas today.

252 Kettles used in cooking are hung over the fireplace, either from a
415 raft suspended from the rafters, 5 to 6 feet above the fire, or from
a horizontal pole supported at each end by poles planted in the floor
on opposite sides of the fireplace. The position of the horizontal pole
is in line with the length of the ruka. In several small ruka the pole
had been fastened to scantlings that supported the roof. The raft,
usually square, is made of boards or saplings. Crossbars of boards
or sapling are tied to the frame with voqui.

Kettles are suspended from the end of a chain or a stout wire. If
a wire is used, its ends are bent to form hooks, the upper one being
placed over the pole or raft and the kettle hung on the lower one. If
a chain is used, the lower part of a stout S-shaped wire is placed into
the upper link of the chain and the upper part over the pole or raft. A
second S-shaped wire is used to suspend the kettle from any link along
the chain, depending on how near to the fire the kettle is to be. A chain
with S-shaped wires is preferred because of the adjustability to
various heights.

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SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

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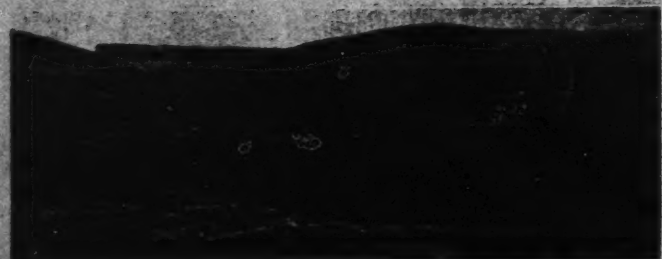
VOL. 133, PL. 64



342
361
417



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482



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Habitat areas, present and past: 1. A homestead in Quileque on Lago
Lacar with fenced-in barnyard and garden. Tall building at right is the
dwelling; tall building at left, the barn; other buildings used mostly for
storage. 2. Boys returning from school to the home shown in figure 1 with
armfuls of dry twigs and branches to be used as firewood. 3. Two groves
of very old apple trees and scattered apple trees at earlier sites of Arau-
canian homesteads (Cofón Curi area).

[p. 268(E)]

354 similar to those of the early days) were marked off by stones of various sizes and shapes, but always with at least one large, flat, elongated one on which ollas and kettles could be set. From rafters, directly over the fireplace, hung several wires each ending in a piece of heavy chain. Adjustable stout S-shaped wires could be hooked into the chain at different heights so that pails and kettles could be raised or lowered over the fire, as desired. In one house a 4-legged grill rested over the open-pit fireplace.

- 313 The most desirable firewoods are fire and chacay because they give much heat and little smoke. Since an Argentine law forbids felling trees without a written permit, firewood today is dry wood of trees blown down by wind, and also bark, twigs, and brush found in the woods (pl. 64, 2). "Most of these smoke up the house; this maqui I am using is absolutely no good for heat either," said a woman while she broke off large pieces of bark across her knee and then broke them into smaller pieces by hand. Two schoolboys told of two Araucanians who had been jailed recently for felling trees. Formerly, one end of the 18- to 36-inch-diameter log was kept smoldering in the fireplace. When heat was desired, it was pushed into the fire.

372 Fire was started by men in several ways. A man holding a flint firmly in one hand struck it forcefully with another stone, usually a flint also, held in the other hand. Striking was done toward tinder. Tinder was either thoroughly dried wood, leaves, or horse manure; today it is often straw or paper. A second way was to hold any hard stone in one hand and energetically rub it with a piece of iron held in the other hand. Again sparks were caught by tinder. A third way was to run a stick—more recently a wire—briskly back and forth through a hollowed-out stem of fuscía. The fibers within the stem served as tinder. "I have seen my father start fire in a fuscía," said a 60-year-old woman. "The fuscía has a very hard stem. South of here they [probably the Tehuelche] still start fire that way."

[533
782] A man starting a fire sang (informant sang in Araucanian): "May my fire burn; may it burn. I will give you meat and fat, if you but burn; for then I can eat. In the name of chan [God] burn for me, for I need you." As soon as he had a fire burning, he threw a small piece of meat and fat into it as an offering. When a fire was not in use, the embers were covered with sand to keep them smoldering.

264 Several meals were eaten each day, hunger generally indicating mealtime. During the childhood of an 85-year-old woman four meals were eaten each day. Each consisted of one main dish "sometimes it was a stew like I am now [3:30 p.m.] preparing."

All persons present ate together, squatting in circular fashion

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

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MAPUCHE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

A good part of the

311 land now in the confines of Alongueo was wooded
313 with oak trees (*robles*) about sixty years ago, and the area farmed
[241] was considerably smaller than it has been for the past generation.
Now trees are scarce and the smaller second growth is continually
being used for firewood. The nearby hills are largely denuded of first
growth. Most of the timber was cleared commercially to meet con-
struction needs, much going into the building of Temuco, which was
founded in 1881. Trees continued to be cut by *fundo* owners and *par-*
[439] *celeros* for sale and for building their homesteads, and even the more
enterprising Mapuche hauled timber to town for sale. The Mapuche
still exploit the remaining heavy growth for the manufacture of char-
[314] coal and cut the small trees for firewood, which they sell to Chileans
in the rural and urban areas. Timber, however, is no longer a local
resource.

Up until 1948 large parts of the region were covered by a thick
growth of *colihue* or bamboo (*Chusquea cummingii*), the slender
canes of which were used in house and fence construction, as well
as for firewood. A blight killed off most of the *colihue* in Cautín
Province. The dead stands were rapidly used up as firewood, and land
was thereby cleared for agriculture.

311 The denuded fields in the immediate area of Temuco contrast
[137] sharply with the woodlands described in the first decade of this cen-
[241] tury (cf. Bullock, 1911). Today, slash-and-burn clearing is sporadic
and infrequent, occurring mostly on the substandard land — the hill-
sides or marshy wooded sections along streams and rivers.

In the Roble Huacho region and similar areas of the Central Val-
[533] ley, little land remains uncultivated. Animals are pastured on their
owner's fallow fields or, by agreement, on those of neighbors. Along
[133] the coast, where there is a good deal of uncleared, swampy, or other-
[423] wise unsuitable land for agriculture, large sections of reservations are
not farmed. Here communal grazing areas and woodlands are found.
The general region around the town of Toltén, for example, is quite
similar in appearance to Bullock's earlier description of the Temuco
region 70 or 80 kilometers to the north.

[133] Alongueo, like most other reservations in the Roble Huacho re-
[134] gion, is relatively flat and therefore easily worked and harvested. Soil
[242] erosion, down to the subsoil in many places, is a serious problem
[439] which, however, is not too well recognized as such by the majority
of the residents. The Mapuche are like the Chilean peasants in their
lack of understanding and ability to cope with the situation. There
is a general feeling that modern machinery, better-quality seed, and

II: Faron E-5 (1952-1954) 1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

RESERVATION ECONOMY

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The *título de merced* indicates the location of the households at the time of *radicación* (not available for Alonqueo), and the former settlement pattern can be compared to the present-day situation. Originally, there were eight households situated near the Toltén River along what is now the neighborhood ox road (see Map III). Only a single house was situated a fair distance from the river and apart from the other houses — that of the original chief. All houses were built on *altura* land, and only *altura* was farmed, the rest used for pasture.

The reservation formerly was much more heavily wooded. Religious ceremonies were held in the "deep woods" within reservation limits. Land was gradually cleared both to meet the needs of an expanding agriculture, and to provide wood for house lumber, fences, the manufacture of charcoal, and firewood for home use and sale in the town of Toltén. Even today, slash-and-burn methods are frequently used to clear land for farming. In 1953 land was being cleared in this manner on several reservations in the Pelehue region. Some of this was incidental to the manufacture of charcoal, but a large part represented agricultural expansion and the establishment of new households.

At present there are 16 households on the reservation, double the original number. Population has increased from 54 individuals to 82, not including the 19 adult absentees from the resident families. The average individual holdings of 5.5 hectares computed at the time of *radicación* (very little of which was in crops, as has been mentioned) now stand at an average of 2.2 hectares of crop land (or a little more than 3.5 hectares of the total land) per individual — less than the Alonqueo average. The residents are not hopeful that large-scale clearing or reclaiming of uncultivated land can be accomplished without mechanized equipment.

Land is much more evenly distributed on Llancaman, although there is some disparity. New land can be opened and is being cleared on a small scale. The prospects of Indian farming seem not bright enough, however, to hold down absenteeism. If the population increases and the community endures as a reservation, it is likely that all land that can be reclaimed from the woods and swamps will eventually be put under production. One way this could happen is through government assistance, especially in the removal of large tree stumps and the installation of drainage canals. Arrangements cannot be made with *hacendados* in the region to undertake this work. One reason for this is that the Mapuche are unable to pay rental on the machinery [i.e. Llancaman -- Analyst]

11: Faron E-5 (1952-1954) 1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

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MAPUCHE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

241 In the Liumalla region yields are somewhat higher than in the
311 Central Valley reservations and many along the Pacific coast. A return
[493] of 5:1 is considered poor, 10:1 good, and 15:1 exceptional. Yields
seem to range between 6 and 9:1 over a five-year period. While drain-
age is poor in the bottom lands, where water is held long after the
rainy season, the hillsides and sloping fields, where wheat and oats
[34] are grown, suffer from extreme erosion owing to runoff of the heavy
[32] winter rains. Gullies form in the planted fields and a significant
amount of the seed is washed away. There are many bare spots, con-
sequently, when the fields are ready for harvesting. Contour plowing
[242] could do much to prevent this, but the equipment is unavailable to
the Mapuche. Actually, terraces would have to be built in many places,
if the hillsides continued to be planted in crops.

311 All the land in the Liumalla region was once heavily wooded,
313 There were great stands of timber not over a generation ago. The
area was cleared during a lumber boom which occurred about twenty
years ago, and which contributed to the prosperity of many Mapuche
families in the general region between lakes Villarrica and Calafquén.
Now there are innumerable dead, stripped trunks and stumps which
are hazardous for cattle and vastly impede plowing and harvesting
operations. These trunks and stumps are made into charcoal by a
[31A] number of the Mapuche — an industry which is a welcome supple-
ment to agriculture in the wooded areas of Araucanía.

243 Farming in this region is difficult because harvesters and plowing
machines often cannot be used on the rough terrain. A good deal of
the harvest is brought in by hand, although it may be machine-
threshed provided the roads are passable and the people are able to
cart their crops to a central threshing "depot" in town or on a nearby
[132] fundo. Winter is generally severe in the area, with snow falling during
[731] the coldest months. In 1953, one of the most severe winters in many
years, at least 20 per cent of the animals on Nahuelpan succumbed to
exposure and starvation.

423 A similarly difficult year in 1948 precipitated the people's request
425 for division. The reservation had been without an effective chief for
[731] several years, and troubled times resulted in numerous quarrels over
[622] matters that might have been resolved by the action of a strong chief.
[518] There were boundary disputes and fights over the condition of fences
and the damage to crops caused by other people's cattle. Trespassing
[731] animals were killed for food during the severe winter that followed
the poor harvest. Some household heads wanted no more of reserva-
[i.e. Reservation M. Nahuelpan - ANALYST]